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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from pre-classical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsani*, Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1903, p. 38.

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6// determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and mem-
6/2 bership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlock-
[P29] ing pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

6/2 The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either
● [582] parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman of this degree.

[113] [11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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612 58 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 582 591 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103–6.

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[13] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[13] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor. The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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general arrangement of the marriages of a sibling group or if it is an attractive offer for prestige reasons. But it has to be remembered that although it may be hinted through the mediation of kinsmen that a girl is ready to marry, it is always the man's family who must make the approach. If a girl is poor, ugly, unhealthy, or from a family of low social standing, she may wait

TABLE II

THE AGE OF MARRIAGE (1945-55)

Age at Marriage	*Brides*	*Grooms*
Over 32	2	13
32	2	12
31	6	27
30	7	21
29	10	17
28	17	13
27	14	9
26	22	4
25	25	5
24	16	2
23	6	0
22	5	0
	132	123

many years without receiving an offer; and, in the end, she may be forced to accept the proposal of a widower or a man with some physical or mental incapacity.

But, providing that all the brothers are not born first and all the sisters last, or that there are two sisters very much younger than the rest of the sibling group, it is often possible to marry off all but one of the sisters before the eldest brother has had to wait beyond the age when he might normally expect to marry. Although the late age of marriage of brothers is not unconnected with the duty of first discharging obligations towards the sisters before a man acquires a family of his own, it is not a simple correlation. It is also related to the balance of power between father and son. If a man marries at the age of 30 and his first son is born a year later, this son will in turn reach the age of 30 when his father is in his early sixties, an age at which he becomes physically incapable of the strenuous life that the executive head of a shepherd family necessarily leads. And even if his

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582 596 [628] physique remains unimpaired he cannot delay the marriage of his first son beyond his thirty-first year without suffering considerable and growing criticism in the community. He must, then, bow to the inevitable, arrange the marriage of his son and in a short time (at the birth of the first grandchild) hand over control; for, as we have stressed, it is not compatible with the values of this community for a married man with a child to be still under parental control and not master in his own house. But fathers do not normally hand over control until they have to. An elder brother, who has no sisters to guard or provide for, may marry a year or two sooner, but the difference is not marked.

[628] Old age, then, and the fear of public criticism and ridicule generally force a man to arrange the eldest son's marriage before his thirty-second birthday. No consideration of the needs of sisters will normally delay this event. And the marriage of other brothers in the middle of the birth order of the sibling group are arranged with the same upper limit in mind. On the other hand, the youngest brother will almost certainly not marry until all the sisters have found husbands. Through the social equivalence of brothers, the duty of watching over and, if need be, avenging the honour of the sisters, is delegated to the unmarried member of the group of brothers. This arrangement recognizes the conflict between the roles of father/husband and brother when they are played simultaneously by the same person; a conflict which, according to Sarakatsan kinship values, can only be resolved in favour of the father/husband. It is an arrangement which, on occasion, may delay considerably the marriage of the youngest brother.

TABLE III

CHILDREN OF EUTHYMIOS CARVOUNIS

Group of Siblings		*Age at marriage*	*Age in 1955*
Demetrios	(M)	31	42
George	(M)	30	38
Michael	(M)	32	36
Elias	(M)	Unmarried	35
Amalia	(F)	24	32
Evangelike	(F)	28	28

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The children of Euthymios Carvounis (Table III) are one of those unfortunate sibling groups where all the brothers were born first and the sisters afterwards. The youngest sister has just been successfully married to a villager. But the youngest brother, Elias, is 35 and only now becomes free to find himself a wife.

Naturally, under these conventions, a sister may sometimes find herself without an unmarried brother to act as guardian of her honour. Apart from sibling groups with no brothers, this is likely to be the case where there is only one brother with sisters who are considerably younger and a father who is incapacitated. Pericles Gogolos, for instance, had to marry and succeed his father at the age of 27, when his two younger unmarried sisters, Erasmia and Machoula, were respectively only 23 and 19 years of age.

It appears, then, that the solidarity of the sibling group, as this is manifested in the obligations of brothers towards sisters, ideally demands that all sisters should be married before any of their brothers. In practice, we find that while the ideal is approached, though seldom achieved, when the ages and birth order of the siblings are not an obstacle, in less favourable circumstances it is only the youngest brother who may have to wait some time before marrying. But while the obligations to a sister do not in the main delay the marriages of brothers, the presence of unmarried sisters in the house does effectively prevent married brothers from dividing the extended family household. It is true that in most families, by the time the second brother has married and has children approaching school age, the sisters because of their earlier age of marriage will have left their family of origin. But where this is not so, it is held to be wrong for married brothers to break up the united family group before the sisters are married. In the first place, it is said that brothers who live in a united household are accustomed to reaching unanimous decisions. If each brother has become used to making various decisions for himself, it is less likely that they will agree about whom the sister should marry, and how much dowry in sheep and money should be conceded. Moreover, the traditional element in the dowry, the heavy blankets and personal clothing, claims the better grades of wool from all the sheep of all the brothers for a number of years before the

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marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction between the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice. Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

In describing the process of development which occurs

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The importance of virginity
is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605 834
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, working in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
605 young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a
[609] wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῇς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 Although in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [P5] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [S92] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [S33] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειά μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and discussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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582 581 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 602 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 602 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.

[152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ).

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care.

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search

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elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard unrelated families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been constantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a 59 602 597 community where social relations are marked by such radical discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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593 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough
858 room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάρικο ἀρνὶ μὲς
τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group
●582 is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately
593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the
578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the speciali-
578 zation of technical roles.[6] Shepherding in the Zagori country
461 demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or
463 failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[6] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life. The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[1]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

[1] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakatsani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [i.e. the head of a "stani" or "company"--Analyst]

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[573] fied but quiet (ἡσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

192
233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle
221 George over there, with only one eye — he's one
103 of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten
[494] thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it —
[648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right.
[173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said
101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro
186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks.* Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze
[582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually
262 swelling in volume as the room filled with guests,
[252] had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid
263 with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

[p.77-8]

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
129 and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the
858 huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114]

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large
[178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[219] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses. However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and
586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.
587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem-
221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

(113) 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XX^e siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, p. 96.

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/126 cont./

582 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction
613 of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the
182 same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the
582 Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
		Brothers	
I.	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
III.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons		

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta:

Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth
613 degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and
193 defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont./

602 613 173 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and never beyond that. (3)

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

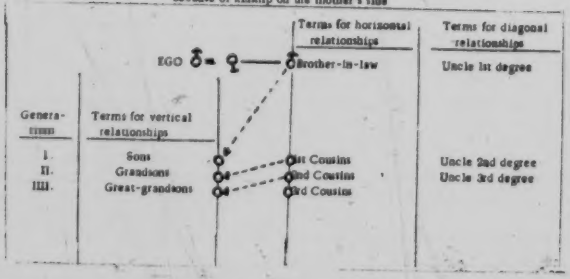
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side



/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

[602]
[613]

/128 cont./
582
602
(213)
system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses; second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in affinal kinship, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:,. reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: Correspondances, p. 97.

/129 cont./

582 Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 582 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7)

7. In the official law as well.

two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos: Poimenikά, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

[788] The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

[791]

/130 cont./
608 That is why the participants afterwards call each other stavradelphia, that is to say "brothers in the cross."

The stavradelphia owe each other fraternal love and a solidarity which sometimes exceeds that of natural brothers. As to their only sister, they owe her protection and support in all circumstances of her life.

The ethnic origin of the participants, or better still, their belonging to different cultural groups, does not constitute an obstacle to the fraternization. For this act may be carried out not only between Sarakatsani, but between Sarakatsani, peasants and even Koutsovalaques. We should keep this in mind because it will permit us to understand the multiple functions of marriage among our herders.

608 Be that as it may, marriage is, of course, prohibited between the
582 stavradelphia and their sister.

It is likewise prohibited between one of the participants and the sisters, cousins and other natural kinsmen up to the sixth degree of another participant, for the latter occupies the place of a true brother in the family of the former.

Fraternization "in the cross," therefore, concerns not only the participants, but also their respective families. Thus there is created "a whole corporation with numerous ramifications." (10)

10. D. Loukopoulou: Ibid., p. 211.

* * * *

582 /131/ From all that has gone before we may conclude that the system of prohibitions examined above prescribes a negative behavior in the sense that the Sarakatsani knows perfectly well who the individuals are who cannot be considered as potential spouses; but he never knows who the individual is whom he will marry. The marriage rules of Sarakatsani society do not prescribe marriage of one of its members with a specific person.
[583] Consequently, it is certain that we are faced with a generalized system of exchange of women, (11) the existence of which plays a very important

/131 cont./

582 [583] role in the social life of these nomads.

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 582 [183] As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 582 584 [114] This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves. The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the [583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

607 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 186 184 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended: the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 171 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 184 186 [582] The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

* * * *

/379 cont./

182 596 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are 182 596 479 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception: it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 581 582 602 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group, to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 602 562 [596] Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 621 602 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the vendetta.

[591] 471 [434] [454] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.

182 596 562 428 583 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not even have the right to a dowry.

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, blackened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

"The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt, for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."